1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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524 that of the opponents, the latter is "killed" and must return to the starting place. The party first to complete the circuit wins.[1]

For the hidden-ball game (*nấhoviǥd*) two furrows are dug in line, but some distance apart. The loose sand is heaped in a ridge down the center of the furrow. The hiding ball, about 4 cm. diameter, is cut from a yucca root. The sixteen tally sticks (*sdhúnd*), peeled twigs about 20 cm. long, are stuck upright in the ground midway between the two holes. The hider thrusts his hand containing the ball through one sand ridge, and as he draws it back, re-building the ridge over his forearm, leaves the ball in it. He then divides the ridge into four piles. Sometimes a blanket is held up to conceal his movements. To help conceal it, he sings:—

[539] wi ga imai nu'u maga djawîd'ma tama wi'i ya
you don't know
amdja tama wi'i ta Inîm ma yaga wi'
to go back and forth

The opposing party approaches to guess in which pile the ball is hidden. This is accompanied by much banter, exactly as Ewing describes for the Walapai.[2] If they guess correctly they hide the ball in turn in their own furrow. If wrong, the hiding party takes a counter. The guessers are often given a second chance, but for each wrong decision the hiders take a counter. When all the counters have been taken from the central pile, they begin to draw on their opponents'. The side cornering all sixteen wins. When the hider has lost nearly all his counters, he sings:—

[539] sâhunu'dj mavuǥigâna kavînyâyuyé'yûté'ê
(I want my) counters (to) return (I am) expiring.

When having good luck he sings a meaningless refrain:—

pîkîtágî'nâ do wo wo wa (repeat)
pîkîtágî'nâ dô'haaaa

524 Children of four hide the ball with all the characteristic motions of their elders, although they do not play seriously until they are somewhat older.

857 Dolls (*gwedî''î*, something to play with) are made of cedarbark for the use of little girls. String figures are made by children alone. Children put corn tassels in their hair, playing it is long.

Slings (*wildvid*) are playthings used only by boys for hurling stones at birds. The sling is fashioned of a rectangular piece of skin, having

[1] Culin, (b), 200. I failed to note how the chance passes to another player.
[2] This was sung in unstressed syllables, so that it proved impossible to divide it into words.
[3] Culin, (b), 271.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Sinyella] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 377; Trippel, 680; Lowie, (i), 307 f; Powers, 360.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness. 856 825

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home. 855

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun, while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly. 857 524

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together. 861

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smokes or hunting 869 224

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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latter at the former, and had seen the frantic endeavors of the little people to obey the stern behests of their masters. 174 342 648

All these yarns are explained by the fact that the distance of view dimmed the vision; the pigmies were boys driving the burros or horses, yelling and shouting as Havasupai boys delight to do, the voices magnified fifty-fold by the echoing walls of the canyon, while the parents moved around attending to their own business, or looked on and occasionally helped by a shout of encouragement or suggestion. [85]

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children. 854 854 857 152

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone. 854 [482]

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle." [856]

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 854 856 [826] 524 177

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs, and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Here is a doll."

Economic Training

857 866 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work, but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 868 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

"When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 524 533 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment. Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother. 857 524

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width. [177] [237] [386]

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and older women ride astride. 857 868 [562] [492]

857 868 492 [555] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. [524] A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with him. 857 868 Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump. [535]

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 13. Activities in Havasu Creek. A. Young people swimming. B. Lucille and Ida Uqualla and Bert Jones washing clothes at the swimming hole. C. Andrew Manakaja and Bert Jones bathing. The creek is the only source of water on the reservation.

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

578 When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

857 865 [114]

578 [181] Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

861 [304] Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may nots, but display little excitement over their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
834 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy
867 for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

867 Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
609 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry. Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[864] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would
[114] result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[177] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

574 Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
●857 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest, cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and
571 winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

Canyon to tend their fields. Men gambled for buckskins, clothing, blankets, and food. Women's stakes were usually smaller objects, such as beads or other articles of adornment. Men had a few games from which women were excluded, but they joined women in playing a kind of dice game which Spier (1928, 341) has described. Informants say that children did not gamble, with the exception of one game played by young boys. They shot arrows at a bundle of rags or willow bark thrown into the air, wagering their skill against their arrows. 525 [857]

Today, the dice game has been taken over by young people, and the group playing it may include boys and girls of eight or 10 years as well as young married or single men and women in their 20's or 30's with the majority of the players being teenagers. Each player bets a dime on a game, the winner taking the kitty and paying from it 10 cents to the owner of the dice.

Men continue to play a hidden ball game, using a yucca root ball, and following the rules observed by Spier (1928, 342) 35 years ago. The game is played infrequently, however. Small boys occasionally play this game also, and girls were seen practicing it, but adult women never play and apparently take little interest in watching it.

A standard deck of playing cards was used by gamblers in the early 1950's. A number of women and men were almost daily players while others joined in only occasionally and some individuals never played. During the summer of 1950, there were almost always two groups playing cards, but in 1951, for some undiscovered reason, players had dwindled in number so that only one group played most of the time. The card playing groups were almost invariably composed of both sexes, with the majority of players being women. The number of spectators of both sexes was usually two or three times the number of players, but these did not necessarily devote all their time or attention to the games in progress. Young boys raced their horses nearby or practiced calf roping and tying if calves were available. Young people of both sexes did a great deal of visiting and joking with one another or merely sat and watched what everyone else was doing. 525 177 [591]

In good weather, gamblers assembled at the public gambling place. Someone took it upon himself to furnish cards and more or less act as host for the game. In 1951, this person was an elderly blind man who, about 1:30 or 2:00 p.m., would arrive at the gambling place with a cow's horn upon which he blew a long, high note signaling the players to come. People started arriving about two hours later, and the games seldom started until a crowd had assembled. The blind man exchanged poker chips for money, and it was said that he received $4 to $5 each day as his profit. [732]

During the winter months, card games were held in the house of a woman who seldom played during the summer. Her house was larger than

521 461 about the fire, and the visitor is scarcely distinguishable from the hostess, as she shares with her all duties in which the latter may be engaged. So also, when at work in the fields, the women are prone to gather in busy little groups, where their talk and merriment, free from the restraint of the men, are louder than about the household fire.

857 The children are always boisterously at play, the girls with the boys, and are touchingly affectionate toward one another. The youth gather on level spots and run races, or play games of chance by the hour. They are fond of displaying themselves on horseback; two, sometimes even three, mounting some little pony, and wildly galloping up and down the paths which thread the cornfields where the women and girls are at work. They improve their marksmanship and gain local celebrity, vying with one another in firing at the marks of nature's hand about the great cliffs of their subterranean home.

623 643 Councils among the members of the tribe are incessant, though very rarely attended by the chiefs in a body, and never, save on occasions of the utmost gravity, by the head chief, Ko-hót.

648 609 643 As illustrative of this, I may give the following example: When I entered the cañon, warned of the characteristics of the Ha-va-su-paí by Pu-lá-ka-kai, I made a rule, in the first council, that any trade sealed by the customary hand-shake and "*a-há-ni-ga*," or "thanks," should be regarded as final. During one of the four [439] days of our stay, Pu-lá-ka-kai traded one of his jades for a quantity of things, among which was a famously large buckskin. The next morning, the evil-looking, one-eyed fellow who had purchased the horse returned to trade back, or have the difference split by a return of the buckskin. Pu-lá-ka-kai asked my permission, and I tersely refused. The man went away, soon coming back with a noisy, low-browed crowd, which increased in size and noisiness, until, to-

[P.554B] ½ [i.e., horse. -Analyst]